

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 235221 TOSEC 270567

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT AMMAN 4941 ACTION SECSTATE 22 SEP 76.

QUOTE: S E C R E T AMMAN 4941

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM CHARGE

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR US LE JO

SUBJECT: LEBANONESE DEVELOPMENTS:DISCUSSION WITH KING HUSSEIN

REF: STATE 234220

1. SUMMARY: CHARGE DELIVERED ORAL MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY TO KING HUSSEIN AS INSTRUCTED. KING HUSSEIN WHILE HE HAD BEEN OUT OF TOUCH WITH IMMEDIATE AREA DEVELOPMENTS SAID HE PERFECTLY UNDERSTOOD FROM JORDANS 1970 EXPERIENCE WITH PLO WHY CHRISTIAN LEBANESE WANTED TO HOLD ONTO MILITARY GAINS AND WHY CHRISTIAN LEBANESE CANNOT ACCEPT RETURN TO STATUS QUO ON PALESTINIAN ROLE. HIS BIAS POINT HERE WAS PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP MUST BE CHANGED AND GUERILLA TERRORIST CHARACTER ALTERED. HE AGREED ON NEED TO STRONGLY

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BACK SARKIS BUT HE HAD NO CONCRETE IDEAS BEYOND CONTINUING

TO BACK SYRIANS. KING HAD JUST TALKED TO ASAD. KING
HOPES ARAB MINI SUMMIT INITIALLY PLANNED FOR
SEPT 23 WILL PROBABLY COME OFF WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS
IF AS HE HOPES EGYPTIANS DROP REQUIREMENT FOR PLO
AND LEBANESE ATTENDANCE FROM BEGINNING. JORDAN IS NOT
INSISTING ON ATTENDING BECAUSE TO DO SO WOULD LET EGYPT
DRIVE WEDGE BETWEEN SYRIA AND JORDAN AND SYRIA SHARES
JORDAN'S VIEWS ON LEBANON ANYWAY. SUBSEQUENTLY FULL
ARAB SUMMIT WOULD BE USEFUL TO INCLUDE ALL PARTICIPANTS
IN LEBANESE SETTLEMENT. IF ASAD SADAT MINI SUMMIT DOES NOT
OCCUR OR IS UNSUCCESSFUL KING HUSSEIN THINKS SYRIANS WILL
THEN FEEL COMPELLED TO MOVE MILITARILY A MOVE HUSSEIN THINKS WOULD
RESULT AT THIS LATE DATE IN STALEMATE KING
HUSSEIN BROUGHT UP IRAQI PROVOCATIONS
TOWARD KUWAIT AND ON JORDAN BORDER AND SAID
IRAQ'S NEIGHBORS WOULD ONLY BE ABLE TO MAKE IRAQ BEHAVE
AFTER IMMEDIATE LEBANESE PROBLEM DEALT WITH.
END SUMMARY

2. KING HUSSEIN RECEIVED ME AFTERNOON SEPT 22 ALONE
AT HIS RESIDENCE. I THANKED HIM FOR RECEIVING ME SO
SOON ON HIS RETURN TO JORDAN IN VIEW OF HIS BUSY
SCHEDULE AND APPROACHING ID AL FITR HOLIDAY.

3. I MENTIONED THAT I HAD ORAL MESSAGE TO CONVEY FROM
SECRETARY ON LEBANESE DEVELOPMENTS. I THEN DELIVERED
SLOW BUT VIRTUALLY VERBATIM ORAL PRESENTATION OF POINTS
IN REFTEL. FOLLOWING PRESENTATION I ASKED KING IF HE
WISHED ME TO CLARIFY ANY POINTS AND HE SAID NO. I
LEFT NOTHING WRITTEN WITH HIM.

4. IN RESPONSE KING SAID TO CONVEY HIS WARM REGARDS TO
SECRETARY AND THAT HE APPRECIATED SECRETARY'S
MESSAGE, HIS PARTY HAD TRIED TO MAKE CONTACT WITH THE SECRETARY
IN LONDON TO DISCUSS LEBANESE AND OTHER GENERAL MATTERS
BUT REGRETTED THAT THIS HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE. KING SAID
HE HAS BEEN OUT OF TOUCH WITH AREA DEVELOPMENTS BUT HAD
SOME IMPRESSIONS TO CONVEY. KING MADE FOLLOWING POINTS

5. KING COULD UNDERSTAND CHRISTIAN POSITION OF WISHING
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TO HOLD ONTO MILITARY GAINS AS A DEGREE OF SECURITY
AGAINST FUTURE UNCERTAINTIES. WITH JORDAN'S 1970
EXPERIENCE WITH PALESTINIANS AS A GUIDE, HE ALSO UNDER
STOOD IT IMPOSSIBLE TO ACCEPT RETURN TO STATUS QUO ANTE
SITUATION AFTER HAVING LOST MANY LIVES TO PREVENT THEIR
COUNTRY FROM BEING TAKEN OVER BY THEM.

6. KING SAID HE TOO HOPED SARKIS COULD RECEIVE ALL

POSSIBLE BACKING? BECAUSE IF NO PROGRESS IS MADE SOON AFTER SARKIS INAUGURATION, LEBANESE AND AREA SITUATION WILL RAPIDLY DETERIORATE DUE TO LACK OF HOPE AND CLARITY.

7. ON PLENARY ARAB SUMMIT IN OCTOBER KING SAID ALL ARAB STATES HAVE AGREED TO THIS IN PRINCIPLE BUT ASAD SADAT MINI SUMMIT IS KEY CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS. KING SAID HE WAS JUST ON PHONE TO PRESIDENT ASAD, AND IT APPEARS THAT THERE ARE STILL SOME UNRESOLVED POINTS CONCERNING INITIAL PLAN FOR SEPT 23 MINI SUMMIT BETWEEN ASAD AND SADAT IN SAUDI ARABIA WITH SAUDI ARABIA AND KUWAIT THEN COMING IN ALMOST IMMEDIATELY. BASICALLY EGYPT IS INSISTING ON INCLUDING PALESTINIAN AND LEBANESE PARTICIPANTS INITIALLY ALTHOUGH KING THOUGHT EGYPTIANS WOULD PROBABLY RELENT ON THIS POINT AND ASAD SADAT SUMMIT COULD GO FORWARD WITH PERHAPS ONLY A FEW DAYS DELAY. HE DID NOT THINK ID AL FITR HOLIDAYS WOULD ALLOW INTERFERENCE WITH TIMETABLE NOR DID HE THINK SYRIA WOULD MOVE MILITARILY IN LEBANON BEFORE MINI SUMMIT ISSUES RESOLVED.

8. JORDAN WOULD NOT GO TO MINI SUMMIT INITIALLY BUT WOULD JOINT AT LATER STAGE AS HE THOUGHT PLO AND LEBANESE

WOULD. CONTRARY TO SOME (READ CROWN PRINCE HASSAN) HANDLING OF ISSUE DURING HIS ABSENCE, KING DID NOT INSIST ON BEING INCLUDED INITIALLY: SYRIA SHARES JORDANS VIEWS ON LEBANON ANYWAY AND KING IS NOT ABOUT TO LET EGYPT "DRIVE A WEDGE" BETWEEN JORDAN AND SYRIA. KING HAD JUST ASSURED ASAD ON THAT POINT. KING ADDED THAT ASAD WAS INITIALLY DUE TO TRANSIT JORDAN TOMORROW SEPT 23 ENROUTE TO MINI SUMMIT BUT HIS TRIP DELAYED UNTIL QUESTION OF PARTICIPANTS IS RESOLVED.

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9. KING SAID HE WOULD BE UNHAPPY TO SEE MINI SUMMIT NOT OCCUR BECAUSE IT COULD BE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT. BUT HE ALSO SEES MERIT IN HOLDING LATER GENERAL ARAB SUMMIT: HE FEARS THAT LEBANESE PROBLEM CANNOT BE RESOLVED IF SOME PARTICIPANTS IN LEBANON LIKE ALGERIA AND LIBYA ARE EXCLUDED AND THAT PLENARY ARAB SUMMIT SHOULD PROPERLY TAKE RESPONSIBILITY TO SETTLE THE ISSUE.

10. KING REITERATED HIS ASSESSEMENT THAT NO ONE CAN COME OUT ON TOP MILITARILY IN LEBANON MAYBE SYRIANS COULD HAVE DONE SO WITH ACCEPTABLE LOSSES SOME MONTHS AGO BUT NOT NOW. KING HAS LOOKED AT THE MAPS WITH THE SYRIANS AND HE CONCLUDES IT WOULD BE A VIRTUAL STALEMATE. THERE IS HOWEVER EVIDENCE THAT

LEBANONESE MUSLIMS ARE UPSET WITH PLO AND WITH COMMUNISTS
AND THIS IS HEALTHY POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT. ALSO AS KING HAS
MENTIONED PREVIOUSLY SYRIANS WERE
ALSO SURPRISED THAT SOVIETS WERE SWITCHING THEIR
SUPPORT TO LEBANESE COMMUNISTS AS LEBANESE NEGOTIATORS(PRESUMABLY
INSTEAD OF JUMBLATT)

11. KING THOUGHT POSITIVE EGYPTIANS SYRIAN MEETING WOULD
HELP SARKIS IN SHORT TERM. CONVERSELY IF ASAD SADAT
MEETING DOES NOT OCCUR OR IS UNSUCCESSFUL KING THOUGHT
SYRIANS THEN WOULD FEEL COMPELLED TODO SOMETHING MILITARILY
ON THE GROUND IN LEBANON. FOR PERMANENT
SOLUTION THE LEBANESE WILL NEED HELP TO REBUILD THEIR
ARMY.

12. I PROBED KING ON POINT IN REFTEL ABOUT CHRISTIANS
PREOCCUPATIONS OVER ROLE OF PALESTINIANS AND DESIRE NOT
TO RETURN TO STATUS QUO ANTE. KING BASIC POINT WAS
THAT PALESTININS LEADERSHIP MUST BE RECONSTITUTED
AND THE GUERRILLA AND TERRORIST CONCEPT MUST DISAPPEAR.
KING SAID HE AND ASAD AGREE ON THIS POINT AND KING BELIEVES
SADAT WILL HIMSELF ALSO AGREE TO IT SOON.

13. KING SAID SADAT IS STILL PLAYING GAMES WITH PLO FOR
TACTICAL AND PRESTIGE REASONS AND IN ORDER TO CREATE WEDGE
BETWEEN JORDAN AND SYRIA. "BUT SADAT DOESNT TRUST ARAFAT
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EITHER AND AFTER ALL ARAFAT DOESNT REALLY LEAD PALESTINIANS
ANYWAY". IN REFERRRING TO CHAMOUN IDEA OF SENDING POST 1969
PALESTINIANS ARRIVALS OUT OF LEBANON KING JOKINGLY
SAID "PLEASE TELL HIM NOT SEND THEM TO JORDAN".

14. I ALSO PROBED FURTHER ON HOW WE MIGHT HELP SARKIS
ACHIEVE A SOLUTION BUT KING APPEARED NOT TO HAVE ANY
DEFINITE IDEAS ON POINT BEYOND THOSE DESCRIBED ABOVE.

15. AT CONCLUSION KING RAISED KUWAITI MILITARY PROBLEM
WITH IRAQ, SAYING THAT KUWAIT SEEMS CURENTLY TO BE
PLAYING IT DOWN, PROBABLY FOR FEAR IRAQIS WOULD CAUSE
AGITATION INTERNALLY IN KUWAIT. HE MENTIONED THAT IRAQI
(40-MAN) MILITARY UNIT IS STILL INSIDE JORDANIANS TERRITORY
BUT DID NOT APPEAR UNDULY CONCERNED ABOUT IT". KING SAID "THE
SOONER WE SETTLE THE LEBANESE PROBLEM THE SOONER IRAQS
NEIGHBORS WILL BE IN POSITION TO MAKE IRAQ BEHAVE".

16. KING CONCLUDED INTERVIEW BY SAYING HE WOULD KEEP
IN TOUCH REGARDING DEVELOPMENTS ON LEBANESE SITUATION
AND SYRIAN EGYPTIAN MINI SUMMIT.

17. COMMENT: MAJOR POINTS TO STRIKE ME IN KINGS
POSTURE WERE: (A) HIS SUPPORT FOR SYRIANS ON
LEBANESE AND DESIRE TO SEE SYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN UNDERSTANDING
AS BREAKTHROUGH ON ISSUE (B) PETULANCE WITH EGYPTIAN
("MANEUVERING") ON LEBANESE PROBLEM BUT OPTIMISM SADAT
WILL EVENTUALLY COME TO TERMS WITH SYRIA ON
LEBANON: AND (C) DEEP CONVICTION THAT PALESTINIAN
MOVEMENT MUST BE RADICALLY RECONSTITUTED BEFORE PEACE
ARRIVES IN LEBANON. IT APPEARS KING HAS GIVEN
LITTLE THOUGHT TO SPECIFIC WAYS OF STRENGTHENING SARKIS
MOVEMENT TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT BEYOND SUPPORTING SYRIAN
POSITIONS ON ISSUE. KING WAS OBVIOUSLY PREOCCUPIED WITH
EARLIER TELEPHONE CALL FROM ASAD ON MINI SUMMIT ISSUE
AND MAY HAVE MORE CONCRETE THOUGHTS FOR US
LATER ON GENERAL LEBANESE SITUATION.
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